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2547th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 15 June 1984, at 11 a.m.

President: Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2547)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Cyprus:
   Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/16596 and Add.1 and 2).

The meeting was called to order at 11.55 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/16596 and Add.1 and 2)

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Dountas (Greece) and Mr. Kirca (Turkey) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to recall that in the course of the Council's consultations members of the Council agreed that an invitation should be extended to Mr. Necati M. Ertekün in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure. Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that the Council decides to invite Mr. Ertekün in accordance with rule 39. At the appropriate moment I shall invite Mr. Ertekün to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

3. The Security Council will now begin its consideration of item 2 of the agenda. Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 1 December 1983 to 31 May 1984 [*S/16596 and Add.1 and 2*]. Members also have before them a draft resolution [*S/16622*], which has been prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

4. It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now. There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 553 (1984)].

5. Mr. Shah NAWAZ (Pakistan): Pakistan voted in favour of Security Council resolution 553 (1984), which extends the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) until 15 December 1984 because we wished to underscore once again the importance that we attach to the United Nations peace-keeping role and to the need for the continued presence of a United Nations force in Cyprus to facilitate a settlement of the Cyprus question.

6. However, our position on the contents of the resolution remains the same, as stated in our explanation of vote at the time of the adoption of Council resolution 544 (1983) on 15 December 1983 [*2503rd meeting*].

7. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Cyprus, upon whom I now call.

8. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the high office of the presidency of the Security Council and to express our deep appreciation to you for your leadership. I commend you on the skilful and tactful manner in which you have conducted the consultations on the draft resolution which has just been adopted, renewing the mandate of UNFICYP for another period of six months. I would be remiss if I were not to add a word of great satisfaction regarding the traditionally close relations existing between

Cyprus and the United Kingdom, both bilaterally as well as in the framework of the family of Commonwealth.

9. I should like also to express deep appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Troyanovsky of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for his valuable contribution to tackling the different tasks of the Council during the month of May. I wish particularly to congratulate him on the impeccable manner in which he carried out the duties of the presidency of the Council when the question of Cyprus was before this forum.

10. I wish to thank the members of this body for their decision to renew the UNFICYP mandate, made necessary under the circumstances by the continuing occupation and escalating actions by Turkey aiming at the dismemberment of my country, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, of international law and of all relevant United Nations resolutions. We warmly welcome this renewal. We believe that any interference with the status and the freedom of deployment of UNFICYP will have grave consequences for Cyprus, for the region and for world peace and security.

11. Further, I wish on this occasion to reiterate our assurances of full co-operation and respect to the Secretary-General and to thank him for his tireless efforts in pursuing the cause of peace and justice in Cyprus in accordance with his mandate and the principles of the Charter. We rely upon his statesmanship and unswerving dedication to these lofty principles and to the purposes of the United Nations for a just solution of our problem. A special tribute is due to Mr. Hugo Gobbi for the exemplary manner in which he and his deputy Mr. Holger pursue their difficult mission as Special Representatives of the Secretary-General in Cyprus.

12. I should also like to commend the valuable contribution made by the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Brian Urquhart, and his able colleagues in the Secretariat, Mr. Sherry and Mr. Picco, and to thank them for their long years of assistance and co-operation. My Government's deep appreciation goes also to the Commander of UNFICYP, Major-General Guenther Greindl, and to his officers and men, for the efficient and dedicated manner in which they are carrying out their duties.

13. Last but not least, we express our warm feelings of gratitude to the friendly Governments which, through voluntary contributions of personnel and funds, made it possible for UNFICYP to continue rendering its most valuable peace-keeping services in my country.

14. By adopting last month its landmark resolution 550 (1984), the Security Council has once again recognized the question of Cyprus as a grave international problem of invasion, aggression, continuing occupation and massive violation by Turkey of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of our people. The debates on the Cyprus problem in this body, as well as in the General Assembly and other competent international forums, reflect the inhuman expulsion of 200,000 people from their ancestral homes and lands, the humanitarian problems of hundreds of missing and enclaved persons, the inadmissible policy of importing settlers from the mainland of Turkey, the actions against the identity of Cyprus as a single coherent unit and, recently, the purported secession and other illegal actions or threats of actions.

15. The renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP is, therefore, also a reminder that all these injustices and breaches of the Charter and international law are still continuing. United Nations resolutions—especially the unanimously adopted General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), later unanimously endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 365 (1974)—remain unimplemented, and as a result the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus are still being violated. The Turkish occupation troops have not been withdrawn, and the refugees have not been allowed to return to their homes and lands, as is provided for by the aforementioned resolutions.

16. Thus, cherished principles and noble ideals are being put to a severe test in Cyprus. The principle of non-use of force in international relations, as provided for by Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, has been violated. The principle of the inviolability of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of States is blatantly ignored by Turkey. The human rights of the people in that beautiful and historic island are suppressed under the yoke of the Turkish occupation troops, whose urgent and immediate withdrawal should be effected without any further delay. Freedom of movement and unimpeded intermingling of our people, which is indispensable in an interdependent world, has been replaced by a policy of forced segregation on the basis of strict ethnic and racial criteria, a situation so reminiscent of the system of *apartheid*. The policy, imposed to serve the political aims of partition and annexation of the occupied part of Cyprus to mainland Turkey, is being carried out in a United Nations era, before the eyes of a world community which has repeatedly declared its condemnation of such policies. Yet the perpetrators of these actions find it possible to continue and even to escalate them.

17. How is this made possible? And why is yet another renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP needed? The answer is obvious. Turkey is disregarding and violating all provisions of United Nations resolutions on Cyprus, even the very resolution—General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX)—in favour of which Turkey itself voted, a resolution which was later unanimously endorsed and rendered mandatory by this Council. This behaviour is, of course, unacceptable and condemnable. However, the fact that the United Nations does not seem to be in a position either to prevent this grave injustice or to enforce its many mandatory Security Council resolutions on Cyprus is the crux of the

problem, which goes beyond the island of Cyprus and encompasses the rest of mankind, thus endangering the very basis of the Organization, and especially the Security Council, whose primary responsibility is the maintenance of international peace and security.

18. It has been argued—perhaps rightly—that the lack of unanimity on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council has been and continues to be one of the main reasons for the Council's failure to respond effectively to cases of aggression or other breaches of the peace. Furthermore, this argument is frequently invoked to explain the failure of the Council to take action for the implementation of its mandatory resolutions and thereby to give substance and meaning to the relevant provisions of the Charter.

19. Yes, I should say that the lack of unanimity among the permanent members of the Council has been and continues to be a main obstacle. But what about the case of Cyprus? The Council unanimously adopted its resolution 365 (1974) endorsing the unanimously adopted General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), and as recently as November last it also adopted resolution 541 (1983) with the support, and positive vote, of all the permanent members. On 11 May this year the Council strongly pronounced itself again by adopting resolution 550 (1984).

20. What justification or ground for reluctance to act as warranted could be invoked in the case of Cyprus, when we have repeated, unanimously adopted resolutions of the Security Council and the overwhelming support of the membership of the United Nations? In all honesty, I can think of none, unless one takes the defeatist approach that the United Nations is a debating society whose decisions are of no consequence, an approach which my Government strongly and completely rejects.

21. The tragedy of Cyprus personifies the plight of the small and militarily weak States, which by choice and necessity have placed in the United Nations their hopes for peace and security. Their security should be of special concern to the United Nations. The small States, by being vulnerable, present a challenge to, and accentuate the responsibility of, the Organization, testing its usefulness and its ability to fulfil its primary mission.

22. If the United Nations continues to allow its resolutions to be contemptuously disregarded, it will sustain still more serious set-backs, and its prestige and very usefulness will be further eroded. The credibility of the United Nations depends on whether the world Organization lives up to the commitments of the Charter by taking effective action when the situation warrants.

23. The question of Cyprus is a situation in which effective action by the Security Council is necessary and warranted. If such action is taken, the trend of our being at the mercy of aggressive States will change, and the world will become indeed a peaceful and secure place in which to live.

24. Regrettably, this is not the present situation, and as a result in my country one third of the total population, uprooted from their ancestral homes and lands, wake up each morning in temporary housing or refugee camps, yearning to return to their towns and villages. Each day one can witness refugees longingly looking from afar at their beloved homes and lands in the occupied part of Cyprus. They are separated against their will from people and places they hold dear. They feel bitter at the injustice perpetrated against them for a decade. Their frustration grows even stronger because of the illegal actions taken to change the demographic character of their homeland and because of the lack of urgent and effective steps to stop and reverse these actions, which constitute a crime against humanity.

25. The occupied areas of Cyprus have been heavily colonized by the importation of an alien population numbering in the thousands, in furtherance of Ankara's plans to change the demographic structure of Cyprus and incorporate it into mainland Turkey. These colonizers are usurping the homes and lands of the uprooted indigenous population, lands and properties acquired by sweat and tears. Already 40,000 to 50,000 of them have been settled in the occupied areas. The evidence of their presence is staggering, and no double talk or evasive tactics by the representative of Turkey will hide their presence. In the words of the late Turkish Cypriot Vice-President Fazil Küçük, the settlers have turned a paradise island into hell.

26. Only a few days after the adoption of Security Council resolution 550 (1984) Turkey and its agents in the occupied area have, as attested to by the Secretary-General's report to the Council, renewed their pursuit of *faits accomplis* in an attempt to effect the dismemberment of the Republic of Cyprus. By striking continuous blows at the unity of our people, so cherished by Greek and Turkish Cypriots alike, Ankara vainly continues its efforts to break the historic links which traditionally bind them together—links forged by common destiny and homeland.

27. Every day new steps are taken aimed at destroying the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus and at converting the occupied part into a province of Turkey. The Council is aware that after the illegal declaration of 15 November 1983, Ankara, in a vain attempt to give this bogus entity a semblance of legitimacy, exchanged so-called ambassadors on 18 April this year. Furthermore, it contemplates the holding in the near future of a so-called referendum for the adoption of a "constitution" and the holding of "elections", the latter aimed at furthering Mr. Denktaş's ambition to perpetuate his stranglehold on the "presidency" in the occupied areas.

28. This so-called State has no territory other than the areas militarily occupied by Turkey, which constitute

an integral and inseparable part of the Republic of Cyprus, the latter having *de jure* jurisdiction over it, as recognized by international law, and as reaffirmed by a host of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. The indigenous people, who constitute 80 per cent of the population of those areas, have been forcibly uprooted by the Turkish troops and replaced by Anatolian settlers, the latter having been illegally given Cypriot citizenship and the homes of the uprooted.

29. How could the offspring of such actions be recognized as a State? How can any State Member of the United Nations have any relations with an entity which is the outcome of aggression and usurpation? Naturally, the so-called declaration of independence of that area was condemned in Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984). The Council considered that declaration illegal and invalid and demanded its withdrawal.

30. The Turkish actions during the period under review further to colonize the Varosha area should be of special concern to the members of the Council, especially in the light of paragraph 5 of resolution 550 (1984), adopted only last month. This resolution should be fully and scrupulously implemented in all its aspects.

31. The Secretary-General, in paragraph 26 of his report of 1 June 1984 [*S/16596*], gives an account of the unheeded representations made by UNFICYP to the Turkish side regarding the latter's illegal actions for further settlement of Varosha, and in paragraph 60 the Secretary-General states:

> "I am therefore disturbed by evidence that the *status quo* is being tampered with in the north-western part of Varosha. I have conveyed my concern about this development to the party involved."

It is worth noting that the Secretary-General uses the words "is being tampered with", meaning that it is continuing right now.

32. It is also worth remembering that even while the Security Council was meeting in May to consider the complaint of Cyprus on the exchange of "ambassadors", Turkey was proceeding with the settlement of Varosha. Furthermore, Turkey, in utter disregard of resolution 550 (1984) and in violation of its paragraph 3 —which calls on all States not to recognize the purported State of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and further calls upon them not to facilitate or in any way assist the aforesaid secessionist entity—is playing host to Mr. Denktaş, in a so-called official visit.

33. I say to members of the Council that this Turkish attitude and such contempt and arrogance prove more clearly than ever that the problem of Cyprus, which you are so diligently considering and on which you have repeatedly pronounced yourselves, grave as it may be for the people of Cyprus, is as much our problem as it is yours. You decide, Turkey rejects; you call, Turkey turns a deaf ear; you adopt resolutions, Turkey flouts them and tears them up in the face of this organ.

34. The insincerity of Ankara and of Mr. Denktaş is colossal. On the one hand they pay lip service to the need for separate negotiations, and on the other, by their deeds and policies, they seek to destroy the agreed pattern for a solution, based on United Nations resolutions and the high-level agreements. In other words, as an eminent impartial connoisseur of the Cyprus problem put it, they want to create such an extremity that there would be nothing left to negotiate about short of asking the Government of Cyprus to submit and accept the partition and destruction of the Republic.

35. The decision to renew the mandate of UNFICYP, welcome as it is, serves one aspect of the mission of the United Nations in Cyprus, namely, peace-keeping. The other aspect, peace-making, could not and should not be overlooked. The two are tied together. What are the prospects for peace-making?

36. I have already covered the numerous violations of United Nations resolutions by Turkey and the *faits accomplis* which outrightly undermine the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring forth positive results in the mission of good offices. It follows that unless there is withdrawal, reversal and remedy for these illegal actions, the Secretary-General unfortunately cannot bring forth the desired results. The hands of the Secretary-General should therefore be freed, not from those resolutions upon which his actions are of necessity based, but from all violations of these mandatory resolutions.

37. To this end, there must be full and effective involvement by the Council and by those Governments which are in a position to influence Turkey to comply with the world verdict, as embodied in the Council's resolutions, especially resolutions 365 (1974), 367 (1975), 541 (1983) and 550 (1984). The need for decisive, effective action was stressed eloquently and in illustrative terms by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, during his address before the Council on 3 May 1984 [*2531st meeting*].

38. In spite of the negative repercussions emanating from the non-implementation of Article 43 of the Charter, the Security Council still has immense moral and other power to wield and should pressure violators to comply with its decisions. This power should be decisively exerted upon unrepentant aggressors.

39. Beyond this, certain countries, by virtue of their relations with Turkey and because of their power, can constructively use their influence on Ankara. This we consider imperative.

40. The compelling need for putting an end to the policies of Ankara and of Mr. Denktaş aimed at the destruction of the Republic of Cyprus and the blowing-up of all bridges of co-operation between Greek Cy-

priots and Turkish Cypriots is increasingly echoed by the moderate Turkish Cypriot leaders and the rank and file of the Turkish Cypriot community.

41. I should like to conclude my statement by addressing a fervent plea to the Secretary-General. My Government and the people of Cyprus have pinned high hopes and expectations on Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar. We know his special affinity with Cyprus. We are aware of his statesmanship and vision. And we also know full well how frustrating his peace-making role is. But still we trust and believe that with his stamina and dedication to his mission of peace and with the vast moral power of his office, the Secretary-General can lead us to a solution of the Cyprus crisis based on United Nations resolutions and the high-level agreements.

42. For our part, we have never despaired and have always hoped that the other side would realize the need for the creation of those conditions that would contribute to the solution of the Cyprus problem. We have always extended a hand of co-operation and we shall continue to contribute and respond positively to every effort in the search for a just solution of our problem.

43. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Greece. I invite him to make his statement.

44. Mr. DOUNTAS (Greece): Mr. President, I should like to thank you and through you the other members of the Council for having acceded to my request, under the Charter, to participate in this debate. Allow me also to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I take this opportunity to express to you our appreciation of your efforts during the Council's informal consultations and our confidence that you are going to guide its deliberations with wisdom and skill. This is guaranteed not only by your personal talent, but also by the fact that you represent a country with very long experience of involvement in world affairs. It would be remiss of me not to express on this occasion our appreciation also of the customarily exemplary manner in which the outgoing President, Mr. Troyanovsky, conducted the work of the Council during the month of May.

45. We welcome the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP by a unanimous vote of the Council. My Government is genuinely convinced that the presence and functioning of this international Force in the territory of the Republic of Cyprus is one of the most important factors of peace and stability in an area where the situation continues to be unsettled, despite numerous resolutions of the United Nations.

46. Along with the renewal of the mandate of the Force, the resolution just adopted reaffirms the Secretary-General's mission of good offices. The terms of reference of that mission are well defined in resolutions 367 (1975), 541 (1983) and 550 (1984) of the Council. That mission of the Secretary-General, as defined by the above-mentioned resolutions, has the full support of my Government.

47. Most regrettably, the situation in the Republic of Cyprus has been constantly deteriorating since the Turkish aggression of 1974 because of the continuing Turkish military occupation of part of the territory of the Republic and because of other related secessionist actions which have led the Council recently to adopt resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984). My Government has on many occasions expressed its views before the Council and the General Assembly concerning the continuing violation by Turkey in the Republic of Cyprus of all norms of international law and of numerous resolutions of the United Nations. Most recently, when the Council discussed the problem of Cyprus extensively [*2531st to 2539th meetings*] before adopting resolution 550 (1984), I expressed the view of my Government that the sole party responsible for the prolongation of the Cyprus crisis was Turkey, which fully controls a part of the territory of the Republic through its force of occupation. I then dealt with the most substantive aspects of the problem of Cyprus. It would be redundant indeed if I were to reiterate again the views then expressed.

48. I shall therefore confine myself to stating that my Government subscribes to every effort aimed at the restoration of the exercise of the sovereign authority of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus over the entire territory of the Republic and at the safeguarding of its independence, unity and territorial integrity. This, in our view, can be achieved through the withdrawal of the Turkish forces of occupation from the Republic and the establishment of a democratic constitutional system providing for equal rights for all the people of Cyprus while credibly guaranteeing the legitimate rights of the Turkish Cypriot community, which, along with other minority communities such as the Armenians and the Maronites, constitutes 20 per cent of the population of the Republic of Cyprus. In the view of my Government, no just and viable solution can be reached if the demographic realities in the Republic are disregarded.

49. At this point I think it fitting to stress the constructive and moderate approach of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, which has exhausted its inventiveness in trying to find formulas for a genuine compromise. The Government of Greece lends its full support to President Kyprianou and his Government in their struggle for the restoration of the Government's sovereign rights over the entire territory of the Republic and to their pursuit of a viable solution to this problem.

50. Greece is a small and peace-loving country. We wish to see freedom and peace restored in the Republic of Cyprus as soon as possible, for any further delay with regard to a settlement might lead to an ominous shrinking of the options for a peaceful solution, a development which my Government, for its part, will spare no effort to prevent from happening.

51. It is in this spirit that we wish the Secretary-General success in the delicate initiative he is about to launch in an endeavour to help the parties find a just and viable solution to the problem of Cyprus for the benefit

of all the people of the Republic. However, past experience of consistent Turkish intransigence and violations of the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus makes it imperative for us to follow the developments with extreme caution. Unfortunately, our repeated frustration calls for guarded attitudes. We have borne witness so often to dramatic announcements by the Turkish side of proposals and gestures never implemented and serving only to create a temporarily favourable impression that we are particularly mistrustful of utterances made with pomp and circumstance, designed only to mislead the people for a while and then consigned to oblivion. Only recently, promises of co-operation were given by the Turks to the Secretary-General only to be followed by the declaration of the pseudo-State. Commitments were undertaken to transfer Famagusta to the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, while the plans to start colonization of the city were already apparently final. We are indeed concerned; please allow me, with all due respect, to submit that the Council should share this concern.

52. We believe that it is not rhetorical firecrackers and declarations of intent that count, but intentions proper, supported by sound, tangible evidence. I am certain that the Government of Cyprus is looking forward to seeing such evidence and that it will respond positively if and when it is presented.

53. In the light of these sad realities, we are fully conscious of the highly difficult task assigned to the Secretary-General. Our wishes to him, therefore, are warm and sincere. I should like on this occasion, on behalf of my Government, to thank the eminently distinguished Secretary-General, Señor Pérez de Cuéllar, for his deep devotion to the cause of Cyprus, a devotion which is not only genuine but which has been tested repeatedly against many adversities. We express the hope that he may find the stamina to continue in his endeavours.

54. On this occasion, I should also like before concluding to express our gratitude to the Governments of the countries contributing contingents to the United Nations Force, as well as to those countries which are helping with financial contributions. Our appreciation goes also to the Commander of the Force, Major-General Greindl, and to the officers and men of the Force in Cyprus, as well as to the Secretariat staff, for their dedication to their most important mission.

55. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is Mr. Necati M. Ertekün, to whom the Council has extended an invitation in accordance with rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

56. Mr. ERTEKÜN: This being the first time I have been accorded the privilege and pleasure of addressing this body, I should like to thank you, Mr. President, and through you the other members of the Council for having given me the opportunity to participate in this debate on behalf of the Turkish people of Cyprus, an equal co-founder partner in the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus established in 1960 and one of the two parties most directly concerned with the Cyprus dispute.

57. The Secretary-General has recommended to the Council, in paragraph 62 of his report of 1 June 1984 [*S/16596*] on the United Nations operation in Cyprus that "it extend the mandate of UNFICYP for a further period of six months", ending 15 December 1984. This is the issue the Council was to decide in this debate, and it has now been decided.

58. We are pleased to observe that the Secretary-General's report, which covers the period 1 December 1983 to 31 May 1984—notwithstanding the fact that it embodies certain points, such as the use of certain titles and nomenclature, on which we have reservations and with regard to which we shall convey our views to him in writing in due course—contains the following three constructive factors.

59. First, there is the Secretary-General's clear statement in paragraph 49 that the current mission of good offices he is pursuing is that entrusted to him by the Security Council in its resolution 367 (1975), and the view expressed in paragraph 59 that he can only pursue his good offices "with the co-operation and support of those concerned". The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus wholly supports the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General and shares the view that he can continue only on the basis of Council resolution 367 (1975).

60. Secondly, in paragraph 59 of his report the Secretary-General refers to "the agreed basis" for a settlement and asks the parties concerned to proceed without further delay "to seek a solution on that basis". It will be recalled that the mutually agreed basis and existing framework on which negotiations were held and on which they should be resumed are mentioned in the two agreements reached at the Denktaş-Makarios summit meeting of 12 February 1977 [*see S/12323, para. 5*] and at the Denktaş-Kyprianou summit meeting of 19 May 1979 [*see S/13369, para. 5*], as well as in the opening statement of the Secretary-General of 9 August 1980 [*S/14100, annex*] and the United Nations "evaluation" paper submitted on 18 November 1981.

61. Thirdly, and still in paragraph 59 of his report, the Secretary-General confirms that the search for a solution should be "aimed at the establishment of a federal state", which is, after all, what was agreed at the two summit meetings of 1977 and 1979.

62. I shall now proceed to the question of the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP. The Turkish Cypriot side—which, in accordance with established practice, as one of the parties concerned must be consulted and the concurrence of which is required for the extension

of the mandate of UNFICYP—would have been prepared to give its consent to the recommended extension, provided such an extension were carried out in a legal and constitutional manner. In order for the extension of the mandate, in both the north and the south, to have had a sound legal basis, it would have been necessary to delete the reference in the Security Council resolution just adopted to a "Government of Cyprus". There is at present no legal and constitutional single joint "Government of Cyprus" which is capable of speaking for both the northern and southern parts of Cyprus. The Greek Cypriot Administration, which is composed of only the Greek Cypriot wing of the joint, bi-national partnership Republic of 1960 and which exercises jurisdiction only in southern Cyprus, cannot, in law or in fact, be accepted as the "Government of the whole of Cyprus".

63. The existence of two separate Administrations in Cyprus was unequivocally recognized by the three guaranteeing Powers—Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom—in the Geneva Declaration of 30 July 1974 [*see S/11398*], and the principle of the equality of the two sides was also acknowledged by resolutions of the United Nations—paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolutions 3212 (XXIX), of 1 November 1974, for example.

64. It is also significant that in paragraph 5 the Geneva Declaration states that the Foreign Ministers of the three guaranteeing Powers had "agreed that negotiations, as provided for in resolution 353 (1974) of the Security Council, should be carried on with the least possible delay to secure", *inter alia*, "the re-establishment of constitutional government in Cyprus". This shows that the three Foreign Ministers were clearly of the opinion that until "constitutional government in Cyprus" had been "re-established", no such "constitutional government" in Cyprus existed and that, therefore, the Greek Cypriot Administration in south Cyprus was not then and cannot now be that "constitutional government", which, in the words of the Geneva Declaration, the intercommunal negotiations have been seeking to "re-establish".

65. This logical, legal and factual view was also expressed by a former British Foreign Secretary, Mr. David Owen, in the House of Commons in 1976 when he was a Minister of State in the Foreign Office, when he said, "We must bring the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities together and forge again a proper Government of Cyprus, capable of speaking for all the people". That is from Hansard, 22 December 1976, column 658.

66. Similar views have also been expressed, for example, in the European Parliament. When the Transitional Protocol to the Agreement establishing an Association between the European Economic Community and the Republic of Cyprus was being debated in the European Parliament in the spring of 1980, Mr. Seal, the rapporteur, in presenting his report contained in document 1-822/79 on the subject on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations, said, "The situation at the moment in Cyprus is that effectively there exist two separate countries on the one island; there are no legal links between the Turkish community and the Cyprus Government", that is to say, the Greek Cypriot Administration in south Cyprus.

67. It is thus abundantly clear that ever since the Greek Cypriot aggression against the Turkish Cypriot people in 1963 there has existed in Cyprus—and in the absence of a mutually agreed final political settlement there will continue to exist—two separate political entities. Following the events of July and August 1974, these two Administrations gained further autonomy and equality, and they have been exercising control and authority over their respective areas ever since. Consequently, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is the sole competent authority which can speak for and represent the Turkish Cypriot partners of the 1960 Republic of Cyprus and the northern part of the island.

68. Events following the Greek Cypriot decision to leave the negotiating table in April 1983, and to have instead recourse to the General Assembly, which resulted in Assembly resolution 37/253 of 13 May 1983, have shown that the main obstacle in the way of a peaceful and just negotiated settlement was the continued wrongful recognition of the Greek Cypriot Administration as the legitimate "Government of Cyprus". It will be recalled that the Turkish Cypriot side, therefore, had no alternative last December but to reject *in toto* Security Council resolution 544 (1983), which contained a paragraph using the expression "Government of Cyprus" as being synonymous with the Greek Cypriot Administration in south Cyprus.

69. It will be observed that the resolution which has just been adopted is an updated version of resolution 544 (1983) and similarly refers to the "Government of Cyprus". In these circumstances, we are again left with no alternative but to reject *in toto* the present resolution for the same reasons.

70. Had it not been for the inclusion of the unfortunate reference to the "Government of Cyprus", as meaning the Greek Cypriot Administration in south Cyprus, in resolution 544 (1983) and the present resolution, we would have given our consent on each occasion, and thus the legality of the presence of UNFICYP in both parts of Cyprus would not have been put in doubt, with unfortunate consequences and legal problems for all concerned.

71. I should now like to comment on some other aspects of the present resolution.

72. First of all, with regard to the reference in the fourth preambular paragraph to "other relevant resolutions", I wish to emphasize that there are a number of resolutions which have been rejected *in toto* by the Turkish Cypriot side, while there are others which have been accepted subject to reservations.

73. Secondly, with regard to paragraph 2, while the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus fully supports the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General, I should like to point out that this mission, as stated in the Secretary-General's current report, can only continue on the basis of paragraph 6 of Security Council resolution 367 (1975).

74. Finally, I wish to draw the attention of the Council to the fact that the expression "present mandate", referred to at the end of paragraph 3, is now over 20 years old and was designed to meet the specific needs of the situation prevailing at that time, 20 years ago. The circumstances on the island have changed considerably since 4 March 1964, and we think it is now necessary to review the mandate in order to meet present-day requirements.

75. I would emphasize once again that the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is desirous of a peaceful and just solution of the Cyprus problem, through direct negotiations between the two peoples of Cyprus on an equal footing, and wishes to support the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General entrusted to him by Security Council resolution 367 (1975). Furthermore, bearing in mind the positive factors contained in the Secretary-General's current report to the Council, to which I have already referred, and in the belief that direct negotiations within the framework of the mutually agreed basis can be resumed on an equal footing, the Turkish Cypriot side, notwithstanding its unavoidable rejection of the present resolution for the reasons explained, is nevertheless prepared to accept the presence of UNFICYP on the territory of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus on the same basis as that stated in December 1983. Thus, our present position continues to be that the principle, the scope, the modalities and the procedures of co-operation between the authorities of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and UNFICYP shall be based only on decisions which shall be taken solely by the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. This remains the position of our Government.

76. I do not wish to contribute to the creation of an atmosphere that would not be conducive to the resumption of direct negotiations between the two sides on an equal footing, under the auspices of the Secretary-General in exercise of the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Council in 1975, by entering into polemics with the Greek Cypriot representative and by trying to reply to all his by now all-too-familiar unfounded allegations, particularly on those matters which are outside the scope of the issue of the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, which is what is on the agenda of the Council today. I propose to reply later on to those allegations we may consider worthy of reply or observation by way of a written communication which could be circulated as a United Nations document.

77. I should like to point out that the desire of the Turkish Cypriot people to establish a federation with the Greek Cypriot people, as agreed at the summit meetings of 1977 and 1979, was confirmed, in no uncertain terms, in paragraph 22 of our Declaration of Independence of 15 November 1983, where it was pointed out that:

> "The proclamation of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus will not hinder the two equal peoples and their administration from establishing a new partnership within the framework of a genuine federation; on the contrary, such a proclamation can facilitate efforts in this direction by fulfilling the necessary requisites for the establishment of a federation." [*S/16148, annex, Enclosure I, para. 22 (b).*]

78. This being so, any formalities or steps stemming from the Declaration of Independence are obviously domestic and internal matters, and I feel that our intentions and energies, rather than being directed at these internal affairs, should instead be focused and concentrated on ways and means of contributing to the efforts of the Secretary-General, within his mission of good offices, to proceed, in his words, "without further delay to seek a solution" on the mutually agreed basis aimed at the establishment of a federal State.

79. As regards the Greek Cypriot allegations concerning Varosha—which are also contained in a letter from the Greek Cypriot representative to the Secretary-General and circulated as document S/16612 of 11 June 1984—and the way in which Varosha has been made a propaganda issue by the Greek Cypriot side, suffice it to say that the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has no intention to alter the existing *status quo* of the Varosha area. Various allegations concerning Varosha which have been made were discussed in detail in Nicosia recently with the Secretary-General's Acting Special Representative, and our position was clearly explained to him then.

80. Allegations still continue to be made about occupation of certain houses, which in any event are outside the area of settlement offered to the Greek Cypriots in our proposals of 5 August 1981, the area delineated in those proposals. Thus, I made inquiries from Nicosia last night, and I received categorical information to the effect that the 13 houses alleged to have been repaired are at present not occupied by anybody.

81. Furthermore, with regard to certain trespassers in certain parts of the Savoy Hotel, I had informed the Acting Special Representative in Nicosia that our authorities were taking legal proceedings to have them evicted. It has been confirmed this morning by our authorities that those shops which were occupied by trespassers have now been evacuated in accordance with the legal action taken by the authorities.

82. It will be recalled, while on the subject of Varosha, that in the various offers which the Turkish Cypriot side has made with regard to the opening of the "Varosha area" for settlement by Greek Cypriots—the most

recent proposals being those of 17 November 1983, made by Mr. Denktaş here in the Security Council [*2498th meeting*], 2 January 1984 [*S/16246, annex*] and 18 April 1984 [*S/16519, annex IV*], as well as in the Secretary-General's five-point ideas of 16 March 1984 [*see S/16519, para. 14*]—the "Varosha area" is defined as that area which is "delineated" in the Turkish Cypriot "proposals of 5 August 1981". And I am glad to note that the Secretary-General himself, in conveying his five-point ideas on 16 March, referred to the Varosha area as the area delineated in the Turkish Cypriot proposals of 5 August 1981. This was noted in paragraph 14 of the Secretary-General's report of 1 May 1984 [*S/16519*].

83. Before concluding, I should like to take this opportunity, first of all, to express our profound appreciation for the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General. His first-hand knowledge of the Cyprus dispute and his total dedication to a negotiated and peaceful solution of the conflict instil in us trust and confidence in his person as well as in his good offices mission, to which we reiterate our complete support and unstinted co-operation.

84. I should also like to convey our sincere thanks and appreciation to Mr. Hugo Gobbi, the Secretary-General's Special Representative, for the long and valuable services he has rendered since he was first appointed Special Representative in May of 1980, and we wish him every success in his present post in Madrid. Our sincere thanks and appreciation go to the Acting Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. James Holger, for the skilful and understanding way in which he has been carrying out his duties in Cyprus. Our thanks go also to the Commander of UNFICYP, Major-General Guenther Greindl, and the men under his command, for the manner in which they have been carrying out their duties. Last but not least, I should like to convey our warm appreciation and thanks to all the members of the United Nations Secretariat who are tirelessly dealing with the question of Cyprus.

85. It will be seen from the general tenor of my address today that my Government is determined to find a just and peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem and wishes to support the efforts of the Secretary-General in exercise of his mission of good offices which the Council entrusted to him by paragraph 6 of its resolution 367 (1975). It gives me, therefore, great pleasure to be able to inform the members of the Council that I have this very morning presented to the Secretary-General a comprehensive set of new proposals designed to bring about an agreed settlement of the Cyprus question.

86. For its part, the Turkish Cypriot side remains committed to the principle of a negotiated and peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem. We hope that our new proposals will pave the way to a resumption of the negotiations on an equal footing and, in due course, to the establishment of a bi-national, bi-zonal federal republic as agreed at the summit meetings of 1977 and 1979.

87. In conclusion, I should like to inform the Council that in the joint press *communiqué* issued yesterday at the end of the visit to Turkey of President Denktaş it was stated:

> "The two Presidents, restating that their common cause in Cyprus is directed at a noble objective, reaffirmed their desire for firmly safeguarding the existence and all the legitimate rights and interests of the Turkish Cypriot people in security, and for the creation of durable conditions of peace in Cyprus through the achievement of a bi-zonal, bicommunal federal settlement by means of direct negotiations."

88. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Turkey, on whom I now call.

89. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) [*interpretation from French*]: Mr. President, permit me, at the very outset of my statement, to welcome you as President of the Security Council for the month of June. Your distinguished diplomatic qualities are so well known and so obvious that there is hardly any need to pay you compliments on this score. As was only to be expected, you conducted the normal consultations with a great deal of tact, enlivened from time to time with touches of typically British humour. Furthermore, it is my particular pleasure at seeing the presidential seat of the Council occupied by the representative of a country with which my own country has been allied for 45 years and with which we share a community of major interests and a perennial mutual political orientation. I should like to thank Mr. Oleg Aleksandrovich Troyanovsky, the distinguished representative of the Soviet Union, who conducted the proceedings of the Council skilfully and wisely during the course of a particularly difficult period.

90. We have before us today the report of the Secretary-General dated 1 June 1984 [*S/16596*] and its addenda of today's date. That report is noteworthy because, first, it demonstrates irrefutably that an almost perfect peace has reigned in Cyprus throughout the period covered. That fact should be highlighted to remind us of the dangerous turbulence which prevailed in the period when UNFICYP was sent to the island by the Security Council. Every one, in our view, should give thought to the true reasons why finally weapons have been silent in Cyprus for the past 10 years.

91. Another important matter that should be stressed in this report is the insistence with which the Secretary-General makes the point that the final solution should lead to a federation between the two communities in Cyprus. That is a principle which my Government wholeheartedly endorses. It is important that the Secretary-General has deemed fit to recall this point at this time, because federation still remains the ultimate goal of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. My

Government feels that attention should be focused not on acts which fall exclusively within the competence of this Republic, but on the real and realistic possibilities likely to bring the two communities together in an understanding on a federal solution.

92. The Secretary-General reiterates in his report that his good office's mission entrusted to him by the Security Council is based on paragraph 6 of resolution 366 (1975). That is a reaffirmation which is encouraging to my Government, because no other basis can be imagined for the efforts of the Secretary-General to continue and for the intercommunal negotiations to be resumed. Those negotiations are the only way to bring the two communities to an understanding on a bi-communal, bi-zonal and non-aligned federation.

93. The Secretary-General also made a point of repeating that the mutually agreed-upon basis for those negotiations remains unchanged. That basis is not and cannot be anything other than the two high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979, the opening statement of the Secretary-General of 9 August 1980 and the "evaluation" document of the United Nations of 18 November 1981. The four elements of that mutually agreed-upon basis constitute an indivisible whole, and it is in the interest of no one to depart therefrom because it is the only basis for a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem.

94. My Government believes that the Secretary-General, by his most recent report, has made a notable contribution to the search for a negotiated settlement. It is therefore in order to help the Secretary-General in his efforts that the Government of the Republic of Northern Cyprus has just submitted to him this morning a series of proposals of vital importance. In order to ensure the success of this *démarche*, those proposals are under the seal of diplomatic confidentiality. My Government wholeheartedly supports this series of proposals and very much hopes that it will be studied with the utmost care.

95. At this time we must be serious and turn towards the future. That is why I shall refrain from replying to the customary remarks made by the representatives of the Greek Cypriot Administration and of Greece.

96. Unfortunately, I am not in a position to state that resolution 553 (1984), which the Council has just adopted this morning, measures up to the report of the Secretary-General. That resolution not only refers, in its fourth preambular paragraph, to provisions which the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and Turkey have never accepted, but it also prolongs in its operative part a mandate which radical changes have rendered practically archaic within the context of the operations of the Force, and it is also based on supposed authorization by a so-called governmental entity which has no actual or juridical existence. Furthermore, as precedent has shown, the mandate of the Force could have been prolonged without any juridical obstacles if the third preambular paragraph had been omitted.

97. Since the end of 1963 there has been no "Government of Cyprus". The Government of Cyprus was the state system of the Republic of Cyprus, based upon an association on an equal footing of the two sovereign communities of the island which had jointly exercised their right to self-determination by consenting mutually to the creation by international treaty of the Republic of Cyprus, on the basis of the inalterable Basic Articles of its Constitution. Those Basic Articles were translated into terms of international law by treaties of the same date, 16 August 1960. Those treaties in their turn formed an integral part of its constitutional order.

98. Those fundamental provisions were totally and entirely eliminated by the Greek Cypriot community with the assistance of Greece, and the most elementary rights of the Turkish Cypriots were permanently violated, until Turkey, in response to the appeal of the Turkish community, came to rescue them from subjugation and extermination. The Government of Cyprus, therefore, does not exist. The group which claims that title is authorized to represent only the Greek Cypriot community. It has no jurisdiction over the Turkish population of the island or over the territory in which the Turkish Cypriot community enjoys perfect security.

99. The Turkish Cypriot community is not a minority; it has never been one. As long as Greece and the Greek Cypriot community do not get this basic truth into their heads, there will be no final solution in Cyprus. It should also be recalled that the high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979 consider the Turkish Cypriot community as an equal partner with the Greek Cypriot community.

100. Events have given ample proof that the major obstacle to a final solution to the Cyprus problem is indeed this illegal and illegitimate claim by the Greek community to a monopoly on the Cypriot State and the blindness of other States in refusing to recognize the illegality and illegitimacy of this situation, even disregarding the principles of the inviolability of international treaties and the primacy of the rule of law.

101. It was to challenge this flagrant injustice that the Turkish community established itself as an independent republic, not in order to secede from the Republic of Cyprus, but to make the point that it is only on an equal footing that the two communities can work together to restore and restructure that Republic on a federal, binational and bi-zonal basis.

102. It is therefore impossible for the Turkish community of Cyprus to accept resolutions which disregard justice and law. That is why the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, through its representative, has just rejected resolution 553 (1984) *in toto*. In consequence, Turkey too rejects it *in toto*.

103. However, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Defence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has just stated, in order to meet the wishes of the Secretary-General, who in his report has expressed the view that the maintenance of UNFICYP in the island continues to be necessary in order to create there the conditions most favourable to the search for a settlement, his Government will continue to accept the presence of the Force in the island and to co-operate with it. Mr. Ertekün also reiterated that

> "the principle, the scope, the modalities and the procedures of the co-operation between the authorities of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and UNFICYP shall be based only on the decisions which shall be taken solely by the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" [*supra, para. 75*].

The Government of Turkey supports that statement and also confirms that contacts between the Turkish authorities in Cyprus and UNFICYP will continue to be conducted on the basis of that Turkish Cypriot statement.

104. In conclusion, I should like to express our appreciation to Major-General Guenther Greindl, Commander of the Force, and to the officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus.

105. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Greece, who has asked to speak.

106. Mr. DOUNTAS (Greece): I shall be very brief; my intervention is on a point of clarification rather than in exercise of my right of reply. The Turkish side has repeatedly maintained before the Council that the famous Geneva Declaration on Cyprus of 30 July 1974 [*see S/11398*], which was signed by the Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, has the effect of eliminating the Government of Cyprus. As the representative of a Government which signed the Declaration, I should like in no uncertain terms to reject that interpretation.

107. That interpretation of the legal and factual elements of the Geneva Declaration, in our view, stretches the imagination to its limits. What was the Geneva Declaration on Cyprus? It was actually a cease-fire agreement. The Declaration states in paragraph 2 that

> "The three Foreign Ministers declared that in order to stabilize the situation, the areas in the Republic of Cyprus controlled by opposing armed forces on 30 July 1974 at 2200 hours (Geneva time) should not be extended".

It was a cease-fire agreement; it did not deal with substantive matters. It was an agreement signed under the duress of the advancing forces of the aggressor. There is a clear waiver in paragraph 5, a clause of a more general interpretative nature, which reads, "Without any prejudice to the conclusions to be drawn from this situation".

108. So, in our view, it is erroneous both factually and legally to try to draw from this Declaration any conclusion to the effect that the signatory parties had it in mind to eliminate the Government of Cyprus.

109. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cyprus, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

110. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): As I have done in previous meetings, I shall reply only to the representative of Turkey, who, in fact, made both statements. I would only say to Mr. Ertekün that I am glad to see him and that I beg him to convey to Mr. Nail Atalay, my compatriot, good wishes for a speedy recovery.

111. The allegations which the Turkish side rehashed today have been dealt with at previous meetings of the Council. Fully and exhaustively scrutinized as recently as last month, these statements by the occupier of our homes and lands were found to be distortions and outright falsehoods. As a result, the Council, by its resolution 550 (1984) of last May, condemned Turkey, branded its actions in Cyprus illegal and demanded rectification by the withdrawal of all secessionist and partitionist *faits accomplis*.

112. When it reverts again to these same arguments, Turkey vainly believes that the memory of Council members has waned and that, thus, something still may rub off if they continue to repeat these allegations. They tell the Council again that we do not exist. That Ankara contests the legality of my Government is neither news nor a bother to us. Why should it be?

113. The United Nations, for the past 10 years, has been giving replies of silence to this absurd Turkish claim. It has simply disregarded it. In spite of the boast of the aggressor that the victim is dead, we are here, duly recognized by the whole world, and pointing an accusing finger at Ankara. We have not disappeared as Turkey would have wished. We admit that we are going through some trying times, but we shall do more than survive. In the 7,000-year history of our country we have seen conquerors come and conquerors go from our island. Turkey, being an unwanted alien element, will go too, like all the others. As for us, we feel that being conquered does not mean defeat. We are down, but as the Council has repeatedly witnessed here, we are not out.

114. We possess the indomitable spirit of the one who is wronged, the determination of the defender of what little—though precious—we have inherited, the strong, unshakeable belief that justice ultimately prevails. And, by God, we shall overcome these difficult times for our people, the Turkish Cypriot community in-

cluded. For the Turkish community of Cyprus is as much under occupation as the rest of our people. For us—I repeat, and I shall always proclaim—this community is a precious and inseparable part of our people and of our country. Centuries-old bonds of history and a common homeland and destiny bind this community to the rest of our people. To Turkey, however, and to some of its agents in the occupied areas, our Turkish community is, to quote them, "an inseparable part of the Turkish nation", indisputable evidence of the annexationist aims of Ankara and of the sinister role played by its troops in the occupied areas.

115. My colleague, Mr. Dountas of Greece, referred very cogently to the Geneva Declaration. Yes, there are two main communities in Cyprus. Yes, the constitution was bicommunal, not bi-zonal or binational, as we have heard recently. But the existence of these communities does not in any way pre-empt the existence of the Government of Cyprus, either at the time or thereafter. The legality of the Government has been consistently and exclusively recognized by all international organizations and in all United Nations resolutions, including Security Council resolution 553 (1984), which has just been adopted.

116. The Turkish side invokes—when it suits it—the 1960 Constitution. It invokes what it considers to be in its interests and compatible with its ideology of partition, while in the same breath it disregards and rejects the Constitution, the very authority upon which it relies. I ask the representative of Turkey again: does he recognize, does he accept, the 1960 Constitution?

117. The Turkish representative again, in his usual fashion, referred to hardships of the Turkish Cypriot community. But who is to blame for these hardships? Who is the culprit? At whom is the accusing finger pointing? I would rather let the Secretary-General reply, through his report of 10 June 1965, in which he says "the hardships suffered by the Turkish Cypriot population are the direct result of the leadership's self-isolation policy, imposed by force on the rank and file" [*see S/6426, para. 106*].

118. The PRESIDENT: There being no further speakers, the Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization

119. The PRESIDENT: As this is the last meeting of the Security Council to take place before the end of the period covered in the annual report of the Security Council submitted to the General Assembly in accordance with Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Charter, it has been agreed that I should place on record the fact that since 16 June 1983 the members of the Council have been engaged in consultations of the whole in connection with the issues raised in the annual reports of the Secretary-General to the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth sessions of the General Assembly, during which they have explored possible ways and means of enhancing the effectiveness of the Council in accordance with the powers entrusted to it under the Charter. These far-ranging consultations are being pursued in private on a continuing basis. The Council presented an interim account of the progress of its work in the note by its President circulated as document S/15971 of 12 September 1983.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

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